

## **Resolution**

### **In defense of a Marxist and proletarian International**

1. In July 2017 the organizations Izquierda Revolucionaria in the Spanish State, Mexico and Venezuela joined the CWI. This process was the result of political debates that began in September 2016, and that continued with the preparation of joint materials and participation in meetings of different sections of the CWI. The degree of agreement was reflected in the document approved at the Unification Congress.

2. Since that moment our organizations contributed to the building of the CWI by defending what we considered, and continue to consider, a policy of principles. The intervention in the stormy events of Catalonia, raising a revolutionary program for the right of self-determination and the socialist republic; the intense activity that we have done in the great mobilizations of working women and youth against sexist violence, confronting petty bourgeois feminism and identity politics; our leadership role in the student movement, promoting the call on numerous strikes in defense of public education and against cuts, as well as our intervention in the labor movement struggling intransigently for a class unionism, combative, democratic and socialist, are signs of identity of our organization. Our comrades in Venezuela and Mexico have also demonstrated how to persevere in the defense of a Marxist program, boldly approach the developments of the class struggle, and build the revolutionary party without bending to the pressures of other classes.

3. Last November, a virulent crisis broke out in the IEC of the CWI. As we pointed out in different materials and discussions, at that time we considered that a large part of the leaders of the CWI, led by the leadership of the Irish section, were breaking with revolutionary Marxism on a number of fundamental issues.

4. The differences with this undeclared faction, which are the majority in the sections of the CWI at this time, became increasingly stronger. Not only did they protect an undemocratic internal regime of the unelected cliques of the Irish leadership, this "Non Faction Faction" has also shown ample evidence of having an opportunistic policy in the women's liberation movement, in the national question, in the work in the labor movement and the unions, in their tactics of intervention in the class struggle - as has recently happened in the large mobilizations against climate change - or in their way of participating in the electoral front.

5. Of course, this policy is also reflected in an abandonment of the proletarian methods of party building. Their conception of the International as an amalgam of autonomous organizations, which interpret the "tactical flexibility" and the supposed "complexity of the objective situation", which they so insistently refer to, as an alibi to capitulate to the prejudices of the radicalized petty-bourgeoisie, is an inevitable consequence of their positions.

6. The Spanish, Venezuelan and Mexican sections took a position at the beginning of this discussion siding with the IS. We considered that the content of its criticisms of the Irish leadership, and later of the leaderships of other sections, were fully justified; for

this reason we participated in the creation of the "Faction for a Trotskyist and working class CWI" and in the elaboration of its political platform.

7. Our decision to be part of the Faction did not mean closing our eyes to a crisis that was assuming the ideological and organizational collapse of the CWI. This is the reason why in the CEE of the Spanish section we made a wide reflection on the causes of these events, based on our political experiences of the last decades, and on the debates we had with the IS and with the whole International in this last year and a half.

8. The careful reading of the fundamental materials of the "Non Faction Faction", taking into account the avalanche of written pages, convinced us that all of them maintained the same line of argument. The characterization of this era, since the revolutionary crises and the great mass movements in Latin America, the Arab world, Greece, the Spanish State, Portugal, France, the turn to the left in the US or the emergence of the new organizations of the reformist left, were reduced to mere comments on the "confusion", the "absence of socialist consciousness", or "the low level of consciousness" that were reflected in them. In this way there was a justification not only of the abandonment of a Marxist policy in the intervention among the working class and the unions, in the youth and the women's movement, but also the stagnation in the numbers of recruitments, the renunciation to build leading bodies with proletarian methods, the absence of consistent revolutionary finances or the lack of a careful and regular publication of a proletarian newspaper.

9. In this reflection we reached the conclusion that this political position was not exclusive of the "Non Faction Faction". At the time that was a relevant aspect of the debates and disagreements we had with the IS during the discussions before our unification. Due to our pressure and political criticism, the formulation of "left populism" used to characterize Podemos or Corbyn phenomenon, among others, was abandoned by the IS. But it is also true that the differences that emerged in the discussions of autumn 2016 - about the analysis of the process of development of consciousness or the balance of revolutionary and counter-revolutionary events in Venezuela - were underestimated by us, and we thought that they could be solved with more discussion and work in common. We have to recognize that this assumption was fueled by the diplomatic attitude and the IS maneuvers, with which they tried to avoid a confrontation on this issue.

10. This debate has proven to be crucial to clarify the political roots of this crisis and to establish a solid theoretical basis to reorganize the Marxist forces on an international scale. But it is not the only important aspect in discussion. The more than questionable way of following the activity of the national leaderships and the policy of the IS to forge the leading cadres is also a matter of the first order.

11. The differences with the IS increased in degree after knowing how they were facing the factional struggle in the section of England and Wales. The adoption of a "diplomatic" resolution agreed with the "Non Faction Faction", a maneuver presented as a "skillful tactic" but that was in reality intended to avoid opposing to the IS on a vote in the English and Welsh section Congress, alarmed us. The policy of defending "prestige", of not speaking clearly, of seeking organizational shortcuts to face a debate that, theoretically, had principled bases, was one more argument for the CEE of the

Spanish section to propose a meeting with the IS to report their opinions and criticisms and to not take anyone by surprise.

12. Both the meeting we held on March 22 and the meeting of the Faction in London on the 27th and 28th confirmed that the causes of the current CWI crisis must be found in the policies of the IS, in its serious theoretical errors to characterize the political nature of the period, in its inability to understand the processes in the class struggle and their reflection in the consciousness of the masses, and the bureaucratic methods of its internal regime.

13. The Venezuelan process, the revolutionary crisis opened in Latin America in the 2000s, or the Arab Spring; the impact of the great recession and the rise of the class struggle in Greece, Portugal, France, the Spanish State, Argentina, Nicaragua, Honduras, Mexico, Turkey, Algeria, India ...; the mass mobilizations in defense of women's rights that have shaken many countries; the entry into political action of millions of young people; the crisis of bourgeois democracy in the advanced capitalist countries, of social democracy and the traditional parties of the conservative right; the irruption of Bernie Sanders, Corbyn, Podemos, the Bloco ...; the enormous political polarization that runs throughout the world, feeding the electoral advance of far-right populist organizations and strengthening the authoritarian and Bonapartist tendencies in sectors of the ruling class and its state apparatus ... all these are events that, in the opinion of the IS, have not brought fundamental changes in the consciousness of the working class and millions of oppressed.

14. The IS minimizes and disregards in a superficial and inconsistent manner the advance in the consciousness of the masses and the turn to the left that broad sectors of workers and youth have made in these last years. Anchored in the ritual of formulas, IS members idealize the 80s (when supposedly the "socialist conscience" was expressed in the progress of Militant), to allude in an unilateral and biased way to the effects of the collapse of Stalinism as the dominant factor in the current consciousness of the masses. This would also explain the "prevailing ideological confusion" and the fact that, in the current situation, instead of "workers' parties" being formed, new formations such as Syriza, Podemos, the Bloco or leaders like Corbyn and Sanders arise.

15. The IS also points out that the "big problem" at the moment is "identity politics", which divide our class in gender, racial lines ... and feed "confusion". It seems as if "identity politics" were the result of a conspiracy of the bourgeoisie against the workers and their vanguard, when in reality they are nothing more than the discourse of reformism in the current stage of the class struggle to penetrate the movements that have a revolutionary potential and assimilate them for the benefit of the system. The question is not so much to recognize the fact, but to point out how to intervene and with what policy to confront these petty-bourgeois and reactionary tendencies. And it is obvious that with its positions and analysis, the IS has disarmed the International also in this field.

16. We won't be the ones who deny the importance of the collapse of Stalinism in the 90s and the ideological counterrevolution that it meant, reinforced by the economic boom. But there is no doubt that the Great Recession has caused an escalation of the class struggle with no precedent since the 1970s, and a sharp break with the political stability of the system on a world scale. The formation of new organizations and the

emergence of mass social movements are a fact of great importance for Marxists, although they reflect an inevitable confusion. "In nature and in society," Lenin wrote, "pure phenomena do not exist and cannot exist. This is precisely what Marx's dialectic teaches us, which points out that the very concept of purity implies a certain narrowness, a certain one-sidedness of human knowledge, which does not fully embrace the object as a whole."

17. This original, contradictory and unfinished form, in which the process of development of the consciousness of the masses takes place, points to the main task of Marxists: to intervene energetically in this reality, without sectarianism, without doctrinalism, without opportunistic turns. The rise of the class struggle in recent years is undeniable, but the growth of our forces does not simply depend on a sum of opportunities. We do not conceive the construction of the party as a mere mechanical action.

18. Even in a favorable political situation like the present one, there are obstacles to our progress due to numerous factors. Our small size is one of them. The lack of clarity among thousands of activists about what Marxism really is, which is prolonged by all the prejudices that the petty-bourgeois leadership of the new organizations consciously introduces, is another one. But it was also a difficulty, forty years ago, that large Stalinist organizations existed and played an active counter-revolutionary role and ruined the political education of millions of workers and young people. Even in an openly revolutionary situation, we will face major difficulties stemming from the political turmoil that will reign in the early stages and the pernicious role of the left and centrist reformists.

19. It is necessary to insist and emphasize that a new stage has been opened, and this has not depended on the existence or not of deformed workers states, but on the serious contradictions that shake the world capitalist system and that have caused the rupture of its internal balance. We live in a time of revolution and counter-revolution which brings great opportunities for Marxists, on the condition that we defend a policy of principles, correct tactics and a solid method to build the revolutionary party.

20. The fact that the IS emphasizes the "quality of consciousness" that the youth expressed in the 15M movement in the Spanish State, describing it as low, confused and reflecting an "anti-party" tendency, confirms its shortcomings in understanding the enormous political consequences of this social rebellion. This same anti-dialectical approach is repeated in its considerations on the consciousness of the Venezuelan working class at the height of the revolutionary process, when they affirm that it was far behind the Chilean working class in 1973 or the Brazilian working class when the PT was formed. Their analysis that the Greek workers were not able to "surpass and challenge" Syriza because of their low "level of socialist consciousness", which would explain the outcome of the revolutionary crisis for the benefit of the Troika and the Hellenic ruling class, does nothing more than to underline an alarming abandonment of the dialectical method.

21. IS members also regret that, despite the impressive challenge of the French "yellow vests", the polls place the National Front as the most voted party to insist on the "serious confusion" that reigns in this movement; or that in the Spanish State, with all the explosion of mobilizations in these years, the far right of Vox can strongly enter the

Parliament. This has little to do with a Marxist interpretation and much with formal logic. The indicated electoral polls reflect the enormous polarization that shakes society in the midst of a growing crisis of legitimacy of bourgeois democracy. But this is only part of the rise of the current class struggle, and elections are only one element in the equation. We will not extend ourselves more on this issue, because we have already debated it so much in recent years.

22. The lessons of the Russian Revolution of 1905, of February and October of 1917, of the German Revolution of 1919-1923, of the Spanish Revolution of 1931 to 1937, and of later experiences like the Chilean Revolution of 1973, the Portuguese Revolution of 1974 or the revolutionary crisis in the Spanish State during 1975-1978, shed much light on this discussion. As in the revolution in Venezuela or the Arab Spring, the decisive causes that led to the defeat of these processes were the mistakes and betrayals of the Stalinist, social democrats, centrist or nationalist leaderships who were heading them.

23. The formalistic and fatalistic conception that the IS presents of the role of the masses and their relationship with the revolutionary party is alien to the method of dialectical materialism. At the meeting in London, in response to the statements of the IS members mentioned above, we quoted an article by Trotsky, *Class, party and leadership*, written after the defeat of the Spanish revolution. We quote it more broadly in this statement to vindicate the Marxist method:

*"(...) what does it mean, in such a case, the 'lack of maturity of the proletariat'? It is evident that it simply means that, although the masses have adopted a correct line, they have not been able to break the coalition of socialists, communists, anarchists and the POUM with the bourgeoisie. This model of sophism comes from the concept of a kind of absolute maturity, that is, a condition of perfection of the masses in which they have no need of a leadership, or better yet, they are able to overcome their own leadership. But such a maturity neither exists nor can exist (...)*

*All that can be said about this is that the masses, who have tried incessantly to open a way to the right path, have discovered that the building, in the very heat of combat, of a new leadership that would respond to the needs of the revolution, it was a goal that surpassed its own forces. We are in the presence of a dynamic process in which the different stages of the revolution take place quickly, in the course of which the leadership, meaning different sectors of the leadership, desert and pass suddenly to the side of the class enemy (...)*

*Actually, the leadership is not, at all, the 'simple reflection' of a class or the product of its own creative power. A leadership is constituted in the course of clashes between different classes or frictions between the various layers within a given class. But as soon as it appears, the leadership inevitably rises above the class and by this fact rises to suffer the pressure and influence of other classes. The proletariat can 'tolerate' for a long time a leadership that has already suffered a total internal degeneration, but has not had the opportunity to manifest it in the course of major events. A great historical shock is needed to reveal, in an acute way, the contradiction that exists between the leadership and the class. The most powerful historical clashes are wars and revolutions. For this reason the working class is often taken by surprise by war and revolution. But even when the old leadership has revealed its own internal corruption, the class can not immediately improvise a new leadership, especially if it has not*



*inherited from the previous period the solid revolutionary cadres, capable of taking advantage of the collapse of the old ruling party. The Marxist interpretation, that is to say dialectical, and not scholastic, of the relations between a class and its leadership does not leave stone on stone of the legalistic sophisms of our author (...)*

*(...) In the course of a revolution, class consciousness is the most dynamic process that can occur, which directly determines the course of the revolution. Was it possible in January 1917, or even in March after the defeat of Tsarism, to say whether the Russian proletariat had 'matured' enough to seize power within eight to nine months? The working class was, at that time, totally heterogeneous socially and politically (...)*

*At the beginning of the revolution only Lenin had a clear revolutionary conception, elaborated to the smallest details. The Russian party cadres were scattered and quite disoriented. But he had authority over the advanced workers and Lenin had a great authority over the cadres of the party. Its political conception corresponded to the real development of the revolution and adjusted it to each new event. These elements worked wonders in a revolutionary situation, that is, in the conditions of a fierce class struggle. The party quickly aligned its policy until it responded to Lenin's conception, that is, to the authentic course of the revolution. Thanks to this he found firm support from tens of thousands of advanced workers. In a few months, based on the development of the revolution, the party was able to convince the majority of workers of how appropriate their slogans were (...) A colossal factor of the maturity of the Russian proletariat, in February 1917, was Lenin (...)*

*(...) for Lenin's slogans to find the path of the masses, it was necessary that there were cadres, no matter how weak these were, it was necessary for these cadres to have confidence in their leadership, a confidence founded on the experience of the past . To reject these elements of his calculations is simply to ignore the living revolution, to replace it with an abstraction, 'the relation of forces', since the development of the forces does not cease to change rapidly under the impact of changes in the consciousness of the proletariat, in such a way that the advanced layers attract the most backward, and the class acquires confidence in its own forces. **The main element, vital, of this process is the party, in the same way that the main and vital element of the party is its leadership. The role and responsibility of the leadership in a revolutionary era are of colossal importance (...)** Victory is not the mature fruit of the "maturity" of the proletariat. Victory is an strategic task ... "*

24. The debate that we had in London also showed that the roots of the federalist degeneration of the CWI, the regime of cliques, and the liquidationist tendencies that have progressed so much in the leaderships of numerous sections that make up the "Non-Faction Faction", are based on the politics and methods of party building used by the IS for years.

25. The bureaucratic way to respond to our ideas and criticisms, the opinion expressed again and again that the national sections can have contradictory positions on fundamental issues of the class struggle, or the attempt to argue that it is absolutely impossible for the IS to be able to follow properly the policy of national leaderships due to "work pressures and lack of resources" are in fact a declaration of principles.

26. If something has been clear is that the IS refuses to assume any mistake, breaking with the methodology of genuine Marxism. Lenin always insisted on this aspect: "Our position has consisted and will always consist in considering the most serious defeats and mistakes that we could commit, with the greatest cold blood, in learning from them to modify our action. Here is the reason why we must speak frankly. This is important not only for the theoretical truth, but also from the practical point of view. We will never learn to approach our tasks in a new way if yesterday's experience has not opened our eyes to the mistakes of the old methods."

27. We have never had the experience of participating in a debate of this importance, such as the one that took place at the London meeting, in which the speaker refused to answer the discussion. The fact that PT, with the support of the IS, repeatedly rejected our invitation to answer our arguments, distances them from the methods and traditions of Trotskyism. To take away both the discussion and the relations with our organizations by excluding us bureaucratically is something that we have suffered in the reformist and Stalinist organizations. We never thought that this could happen in the CWI.

28. The conclusion about the fractional struggle that has erupted in the CWI in November is clear. The leadership of the CWI has been transformed into a grouping that has broken with decisive elements of Marxist theory, and this is something that must be exposed to the committed and long-standing revolutionary militants and fighters in the ranks. In the internal regime of the CWI there is a consolidated trend of antidemocratic and clique methods, based on the predominance of informal and personal relationships that affect the political decisions that are adopted. This is the functioning in many of the national leaderships as well as in the highest international leading bodies (IEC and IS). The current fractional struggle is not based on principles. In essence, the IS has opened with its policies the path towards the Mandelist and opportunist positions of many of the leaders who today lead the "Non-Faction Faction", although, in order to maintain their prestige and control of the leadership, they intend to involve themselves with the defense of the "Centrality of the working class".

29. In view of these facts and of the principled differences that have been revealed, the Central Committee of Izquierda Revolucionaria in the Spanish State agrees:

**A) The suspension of the affiliation of our organization to the CWI, decision that will be submitted to discussion in the Congress of our section and in all the branches and assemblies that we will celebrate after the congress.**

**B) To express our full political solidarity with the comrades of Izquierda Revolucionaria in Mexico and Venezuela, and of Socialismo Revolucionario in Portugal, and to open a process of debate and common political balance to continue the task of building a strong revolutionary Marxist international force.**

Madrid, April the 6th, 2019